DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 201 540 SO 013 186

TITLE	Women in the World. A Ford Foundation Position Paper.
INSTITUTION	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Nov 80
NOTE	39p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, 320 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017 (free).
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Cultural Influences; Economic Factors; *Economic Research; Educational Discrimination; Employed Women; Equal Education; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Females; Feminism; *Global Approach; Program Descriptions; Sex Bias; *Sex Discrimination; *Womens Education

ABSTRACT

This report presents the rationale for the expanded women's programs sponsored by the Ford Foundation and describes their current and projected activities. Both men and women should have opportunities to choose roles and lifestyles unconstrained by sex discrimination. The gross under-representation of women cited in figures throughout this report is prima facie evidence of sex discrimination and implies lack of choice. The paper is presented in two parts. Part one describes problems women encounter in their economic activities throughout the world. As compared with men, women are underpaid, are denied credit, and experience higher unemployment. They are particularly constrained in the economic sphere by their domestic and mothering responsibilities. Girls and women are denied equality with boys and men in education and training to prepare them for their multiple roles. Cultural forces also pose many obstacles to women's full participation in their families, society, and the economy. Part two describes the general position of the Foundation in work on sex discrimination, outlines the work of each division on these problems, and suggests future program directions. There are three major program divisions of the Foundation. The National Affairs' women's program has as its major focus the improvements in the economic security of women, particularly low-income and disadvantaged women. The programs of the Education and Public Policy Division are aimed at the elimination of discrimination based on sex in all phases of education. The International Division women's program objectives have been to help overcome inequity and, in the process, to help ensure that women can both contribute to achieving a variety of development goals and also share more fully in the resulting benefits. (Author/RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FRO
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGI
ATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINION
STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRE
SENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE O
EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY
HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

CAROLEE E ILTIS

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

WOMEN IN THE WORLD

A FORD FOUNDATION POSITION PAPER

Additional copies of this booklet, as well as a complete list of Foundation publications and films, may be obtained from the Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, 320 East 43 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Ford Foundation.
Women in the world.

(A Ford Foundation position paper)
1. Women's rights. 2. Sex discrimination against women. 3. Discrimination in employment. 4. Women—Economic conditions. I. Title. II. Series: Ford Foundation. Ford Foundation position paper.
HQ1381.F67 1980 305.4'2 80-25730

November 1980

MAR 9 19

Women in the World

A Ford Foundation Position Paper

Contents

Foreword 2

Introduction 3

1. Consequences of Sex Discrimination 5

Compensation, Credit for Self-Employment, and Unemployment Rates 5

Education and Training for Economic Roles 15

Cultural Forces and Obstacles to Women's Economic Participation 22

2. Present and Projected Ford Foundation Activities 28

National Affairs 29

Education and Public Policy 31

Committee on Public Policy and Social Organization 33

Arts 34

Resources and the Environment 34

International Division 35

In March 1980 the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation authorized a major expansion of the Foundation's programs aimed at advancing women's roles and opportunities around the world.

In numerical terms the expansion more than doubles the investment the Foundation staff is authorized to make in such activities in fiscal 1980 and 1981—from the previous ceiling of $8.4 million to a possible total of $19.3 million. Equally important is the heightened Foundation-wide consciousness that this expansion represents. We are resolved that our concern for persons discriminated against whether based on race or gender or both permeate all our program activities.

This report lays out the rationale for our expanded women's programs and describes current and projected activities. The new goals are ambitious, challenging our staff to maintain a high quality of performance in developing new projects. As in other fields of Foundation interest, our work in reinforcing advances in women's roles and opportunities will depend in great part on our knowledge of and access to persons and institutions with promising ideas and experience in working toward these goals. We therefore welcome comment on this report and suggestions as to where our resources might most productively be placed.

FRANKLIN A. THOMAS

Introduction

Sex discrimination is a universal problem. It exists in varying forms and degrees, but everywhere girls' and women's basic rights, opportunities, and development are circumscribed, and societies are deprived of their skills. Sex discrimination is a major factor in poverty and a costly constraint on productivity. It pervades all institutions with strong reinforcement from culture and custom. Wherever and however it exists, it is unjust.

To develop strategies for the elimination of sex discrimination, it is first necessary to understand the problems and prospects of girls and women, relative to boys and men, around the world. Our own work on these problems and an increasingly rich literature suggest that there are commonalities that transcend national borders. The basis of these commonalities is found in the multiple roles and responsibilities of women as workers, household managers, and mothers. Cultural, economic, and other circumstances shape these roles and the balance among them, but the roles prevail across varying social conditions.

All societies assign to females the primary responsibility for care of children and household management. These activities are considered essential to family stability and community survival. Culture enshrines females' special life-giving and nurturing capacities and justifies the male/female division of labor. Women's economic activities (home-centered production, or unpaid family labor, or paid employment) are frequently extensive and essential to the family, but they are seldom recognized and supported to the extent that mothering activities are. If these economic activities conflict with household and family responsibilities, they are often censured and undermined by society; when they bring women into competition with men, they are feared. (Similarly, men are censured when they take on "feminine" roles and characteristics.) Constraints on women's participation in the economy inhibit their ability to support themselves and their dependents, and impose unnecessary physical and emotional hardship. Women everywhere, employed and unemployed, educated

and uneducated, young and old, share a concern about their economic security.

For these reasons our analysis emphasizes women's economic role. We discuss women's other roles primarily as they relate to women's economic responsibilities. Our emphasis should not be interpreted as suggesting that all women must undertake particular economic activities. Although many women have no choice in the matter, others do; we are not proposing substitution of one rigid role definition for another. We do not know whether in the total absence of sex discrimination, males and females would participate equally in productive activities. Thus, we do not assert that because women are 50 per cent of the population, they should necessarily be 50 per cent of the participants in every aspect of life. We do believe both men and women should have opportunities to choose roles and life-styles unconstrained by sex discrimination; and we assert forcefully that the gross underrepresentation of women cited in figures throughout this paper is *prima facie* evidence of sex discrimination and implies lack of choice.

This paper is presented in two parts. Part I describes problems women encounter in their economic activities throughout the world. Although striking, positive changes have occurred in the U.S. and some other countries in the last decade, Part I focuses on problems that remain, particularly those that are common to women in all countries.

In the past, our discussions of the Foundation's women's program have reflected the different interests of each division and the different constraints faced in work overseas compared to work in the U.S. We take this opportunity to stress common problems because such analysis 1) reveals the pervasiveness of sex discrimination, the effort required to eliminate it, and the increasing concern about the problem around the world; and 2) increases staff capacity to identify program areas suitable for cross-divisional collaboration.

Part II describes the general position of the Foundation in work on sex discrimination, outlines the work of each division on these problems, and suggests future program directions.

Part 1. Consequences of Sex Discrimination

Three major propositions underlie our concern for women's multiple roles and responsibilities:

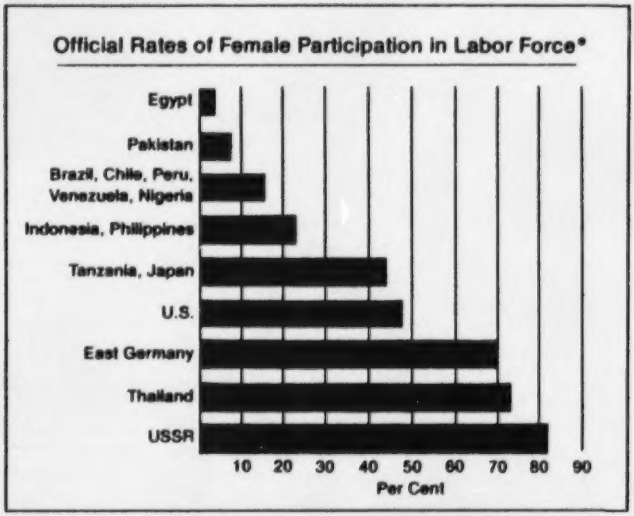
—As compared with men, women are underpaid, are denied credit, and experience higher unemployment; they are particularly constrained in the economic sphere by their domestic and mothering responsibilities.
—Girls and women are denied equality with boys and men in education and training to prepare them for their multiple roles.
—Cultural forces also pose many obstacles to women's full participation in their families, society, and the economy.

Compensation, Credit for Self-Employment, and Unemployment Rates

Women receive less for their work than men, have less access to credit for self-employment, and have significantly higher unemployment rates.

Women have always been recognized and valued as mothers and homemakers. Their significance as workers and producers has, however, been consistently denied and obscured. Poor women and, increasingly, women of all classes work by necessity at a range of tasks crucial to their families' income and subsistence as well as their own security and independence. Symptomatic of the denial of women's role as producers is the fact that, in many countries, labor force data conceal the

extent and nature of women's work and earnings. The figures below illustrate this point:



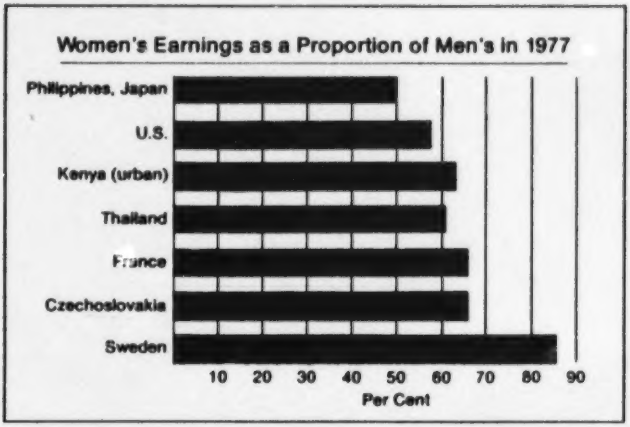
Contrary to these data, *most* women in the Third World work; if they did not, they and their children would not eat. The figures are inaccurate because census and surveys often reflect only formal wage labor, ignoring unremunerated or casual agricultural work, and self-employment in the informal economy.

Further, official data in most countries are interpreted to mean that women "work" significantly less than men. In fact, time-budget studies confirm that most women in all parts of the world work longer hours than men, if money-saving** and household tasks are considered in addition to time spent in the workplace. If hours spent in child care were also considered, the male-female differentials would be even larger.

*Statistics presented in this paper are for the most recent years for which data are available; many of those for the Third World are estimates.

**E.g., food processing. When women in East Africa spend three to four hours a day grinding maize for their families' meals, it is "domestic," not economic work. When that same maize is ground in a commercial mill, it shows up in national accounts and the men who do it are "economically active."

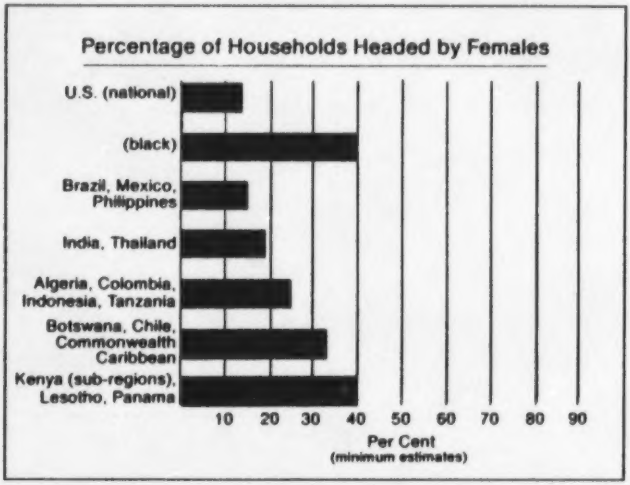
Women earn less than men:



In many countries, men and women doing the same work do not receive equal wages, despite the fact that eighty countries have ratified the ILO Equal Remuneration Convention of 1951, and many others have comparable national legislation. In addition, everywhere, according to the ILO, work traditionally done by men commands higher pay and prestige than that done by women. This discrimination is reinforced by bias in other forms of compensation such as retirement and health benefits.

Unemployment data suggest additional disadvantages for females. Throughout Europe and the U.S., women are over half the unemployed though they are less than half the labor force. In the U.S. in 1979, white women's unemployment rates were 6 per cent, as compared to 4 per cent for white men. Minority women's unemployment rate in the U.S. was 12 per cent as compared to 10 per cent for minority males. In the less developed or basically agrarian economies, where many women (and men) work intermittently or without pay, it is difficult to measure unemployment and underemployment. However, there is no doubt that the rates are usually higher for women than men in the formal labor force. For example, 32 per cent of economically active women in Jamaica were unemployed in 1975, as compared to 12 per cent of the men.

Most women, like men, cannot afford to be unemployed, especially those who are among the increasing number of female household heads.



In the U.S. in 1975, the median income of families headed by women was less than half that of families headed by men. More than half the poor lived in families headed by women.

The inequities in wages and employment are created and maintained by three interrelated factors:

1. ***Women have always been segregated in a small number of occupations characterized by low status and low pay.***

In all countries, most women work in occupations in which the majority of workers are female (though the majority of managers are men). As Western countries industrialized, women moved from pre-industrial, home-centered work into employment in a narrow range of occupations that paralleled female household roles, i.e., textile and clothing manufacture, food processing, domestic service. As these economies expanded further and occupations such as clerical or service work developed, women moved into some of these occupations, but never significantly broadened their distribution across a larger number of fields. In the Third World, working

women, even more than men, cluster in agriculture (paid and unpaid), domestic service, and petty trade. As these countries industrialize, patterns of occupational segregation by sex emerge that are alarmingly similar to those in the industrialized countries.

"The manual dexterity of the Oriental female is famous... who therefore could be better qualified by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a bench assembly line...?"

Government of Malaysia

Particular patterns of occupational segregation by sex are not the same in all countries. In the U.S., clerical work, elementary school teaching, nursing, and service work account for 64 per cent of white and minority working women. In South Asia, most of the elementary school teachers and clerical workers are men, as well as a high proportion of domestic servants; visitors from the U.S. are shocked to see South Asian women doing heavy construction work. Market activities in West Africa, in some parts of Latin America, and in Southeast Asia are dominated by women, but women in Islamic countries and Eastern Africa rarely engage in trade. Dentistry in Scandinavia and medicine in the USSR are female professions; everywhere else they are not. Considerable cross-national variation is evident in the participation of women in other professional and managerial positions. Particularly high rates of female participation in these categories occur in the Philippines and Thailand.

In all countries, women are grossly underrepresented in elective and appointive offices at national as well as local and neighborhood levels. Although virtually all women are legally entitled to participate in the political process, in only a few countries do women fill even 10 per cent of public offices.

This particular aspect of labor market segmentation has significance beyond employment and earnings: exclusion of women from political, leadership, and managerial positions means their interests and values are not fairly represented

even in fields traditionally associated with women, such as family planning and early childhood education.

Overall, the consequences of a sex-segregated labor market are similar to those of any segmented labor market, whether the principle of segmentation is race or sex or age: low pay, low status, and vulnerability. Employment is allocated on the basis of sex not merit or need. Occupational segregation facilitates large differentials between male and female earnings as well as outright discrimination in wage rates.

2. ***Because women are held primarily responsible for household management and child rearing they face special problems and constraints in pursuing economic roles.***

Most men have not yet had to face the difficulties of combining economic activity, housework, and child care. Most working women, by comparison, are required to cope with both work and domestic responsibilities. As a result, many women are overworked, and at the same time blamed for not performing adequately in one or all of their roles. Many women must limit their employment choices to those jobs that can accommodate the multiple demands they face, and others are handicapped in competing for advancement on the job. Employers in many countries are prejudiced against hiring and promoting women for fear that they will be more expensive, less consistent, and less loyal employees due to their domestic responsibilities. These consequences of multiple roles could be considerably alleviated by provision of supportive services but, for various reasons across countries, efforts to provide such services have been limited at best.

Paid work must be combined with household management responsibilities. Women and girls are usually responsible for food purchasing, food processing, meal preparation, household cleaning, laundry, care for elderly and sick relatives, and myriad other tasks. The content of these activities varies across societies, but the assignment of them to women and girls is as universal as is male avoidance of them.

The extent of this burden is made clear by recent family time allocation studies. For example, in the U.S., non-employed women work at household management tasks for as many

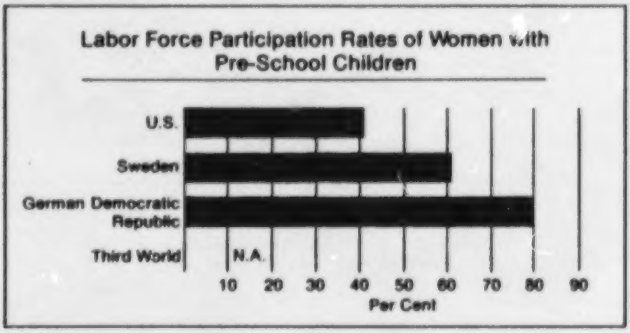
hours as their husbands work in paid employment—approximately eight hours per day. When women move into paid employment outside the home, as increasing proportions have, their household management work is reduced by less than three hours per day, leaving a thirteen-hour work day. We may have the impression that the household tasks are more equally shared by males and females as increasing numbers of women find employment, but family researchers have found little evidence to confirm this. Similarly, in the Soviet Union, women continue to shoulder virtually unrelieved full-time responsibility for household tasks.

Data from Third-World countries show a similar pattern, in many cases even more extreme. Female work days may extend to sixteen or eighteen hours, depending on the family economy, family composition, residence, and the like. For most women in subsistence economies, the physical burdens of household management are far greater than in industrialized countries: there are no packaged foods; rather, women laboriously process staple and supplementary foods and flavorings. They spend hours collecting water and fuel. Most work is done with crude traditional tools that require substantial physical labor. In addition, a number of vital productive activities, such as food storage, textile and clothing production and production of household utensils, are done at home by women in subsistence economies.

Little investment has been made in improving the technology of Third World women's work, except when it relates to national economic issues. When new technologies are developed, they are frequently ill suited to women's needs. For example, recent concern about deforestation has led to efforts to design more efficient stoves and to develop solar cookers. Men involved in this effort, ignorant about women's work, did not take into account the fact that most women in most poor countries work in the field or market during sunlight hours and would find a solar cooker useless.

Pregnancy and child care responsibilities jeopardize women's employment prospects. For many mothers, child-care problems constitute an insurmountable obstacle to economic activity. For many others, the problems limit the time, energy, and creativity

available for work. Many girls in poor countries, and some in the U.S., must drop out of school to take care of infant siblings while mothers work.



For women and girls to have the same options as men to pursue economic activity, provisions for the care of children must be made. Working parents (mothers and fathers) need: help in arranging and paying for substitute care givers; part-time or flexible work scheduling; provision for breast feeding; work-site creches; provision for care of sick children; and occasionally, temporary work reassignment during pregnancy.

Most industrialized countries have taken only a few small steps in the direction of a child-care system. A few countries that want to draw women into the labor force have started to provide services on a relatively large scale. For example, East Germany has extensive child-care coverage for over 60 per cent of all newborn to three-year-olds, 80 per cent of all one- to two-year-olds, and 90 per cent of all three- to six-year-olds in group care; East Germany also offers a package of benefits to mothers, such as paid maternity leave with job protection and personal days for child sickness. Other countries have developed extensive child care coverage as a support to family life. In France, for example, approximately 95 per cent of three- to five-year-olds and 28 per cent of two-year-olds are in government-supported care programs. In the U.S. by comparison, where the legal protections against sex discrimination are relatively well developed, child care is a patchwork of private

and public arrangements, with relatively little direct governmental support.

Only Norway and Sweden have included in their approaches to this problem the encouragement of equal sharing of child-care responsibilities between fathers and mothers.

"I think this women's lib stuff is fine, and I've argued for it all my life. But for a father to get leave is completely ridiculous."

Commissioner, California Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1974.

"A man ought not give up work and turn himself into a mother figure or nanny... his brain should be used in work..."

A British judge, 1979

"The relationship between father and child never was and cannot now be built principally around child caring experiences. It is built around a man's function in society: moral, economic, political."

DR BRUNO BETTELHEIM, *1956*

In Third-World countries, many working mothers depend on the extended family for child care; many more cannot. When there are no adult relatives to depend on, working mothers leave children with siblings, often very young, or with no supervision; in other cases, children are brought to the work site. Governments, hard pressed to provide any social services, give child care low priority. Only minor efforts have been made to provide either day care or pre-school education. Most of these efforts are private (especially through women's organizations) and therefore very small; government schools in many cases will not take children less than six or seven years old. An exception is Colombia, where there has been considerable attention to pre-school education, sponsored both by the government and by communities. In a few other countries, there is some awareness in government and/or among feminists of the importance of day care in freeing women for wage

and self employment. In general, however, child care is still assumed to be the family's not the society's responsibility.

3. ***Women are assumed to be poor credit risks and much less often than men have the collateral, experience, and other qualifications required to obtain credit.***

Around the world, increasing numbers of women are self-employed in their own businesses, on farms, in cottage industry, and in trade. Estimates of their credit-worthiness should be based on objective criteria, but are frequently decided negatively on the basis of subjective assumptions. This is especially serious in the Third World where self-employment may be the only means of earning income for women (and men) who have little or no education or vocational skills, and who face extremely crowded labor markets.

U.S. data show that between 1972 and the present, female business owners have more than doubled from 402,000 to 900,000. Not enough is known about the extent to which these women experience difficulties in obtaining credit, beyond those that all small business owners encounter. We do know that some discriminatory lending policies remain in the U.S., despite the passage of corrective legislation. For example, the Justice Department's Task Force on Sex Discrimination has found that Farmer's Home Administration (FHA) regulations usually refer to women as "farmer's wife" or "borrower's wife." Wives are required to sign their husbands' promissory notes and are held responsible for the loans, but the FHA is not required to inform the wives of foreclosure. Furthermore, women applying for loans to run their own farms have often been turned down for lack of farming experience even though they have grown up on a farm, been married to and worked for years alongside a male farmer.

If anything, women farmers in the Third World have an even rougher time than those in the U.S., with serious consequences for their own economic security and their households' productive capacity. Credit programs for small business and trading activities in the Third World also discriminate against women for several reasons: First, women on average, have fewer assets than men that are acceptable as collateral. When

judgments are made on credit worthiness of very low-income people, women's labor potential is not recognized as "collateral," though men's sometimes is. Second, women, much more often than men, are illiterate, and literacy is often required to obtain a loan. Third, more than men, women produce products saleable only in a local (village, urban slum) market, on a very small scale, often in their homes. Thus, surveys prior to investment in small industry often overlook what women do. Further, banks refuse to bear the administrative expense of making the very small loans many women need. Except in the case of middle-class women, who may turn to their families, women's only recourse is usurious money lenders. Some of these abuses also occur in the United States and Europe.

Education and Training for Economic Roles

Education and training do not prepare women and girls for economic roles equally with boys and men.

Educational institutions in all societies are Janus-faced, looking both backward and forward. On the one hand, it is the function of schools to transmit accumulated knowledge and basic values; on the other hand, it is their function to develop new knowledge, new approaches to learning, and critical attitudes toward established practices and values. Teachers, scholars, and researchers are supposed to maintain the best of the past and prepare for and contribute to a different future. It is only apparently paradoxical, therefore, that school is one of the most conservative institutions in socializing students for traditional sex roles; and at the same time, a major gateway to

"There, little girls, don't read
You're fond of your books, I know
But Brother might mope
If he had no hope
Of getting ahead of you.
It's dull for a boy who cannot lead,
There, little girl, don't read."

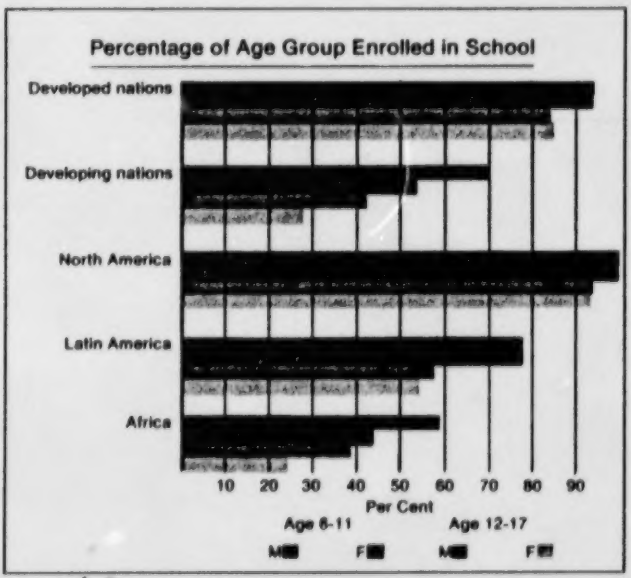
(Anon.)

new roles and broader options. For girls and women, the conservative influence of schooling has been very powerful. Any education is better than none, but education that is not riddled with sex discrimination is far preferable and hard to find.

Three kinds of sex discrimination in education have serious consequences for women's participation in the world of work: limited access to schools and training programs; pedagogical and administrative practices in schools that reinforce limited options for males and females; and sex discrimination in employment practices, job access, and promotion in educational institutions. The specific forms these constraints take vary from country to country, but the general problems are universal.

1. ***Females' access to and participation in education and training is more limited than males'.***

Primary and secondary level. Access to education at these levels is less a problem for females in the U.S. and other developed countries than it is in much of the world. Sex



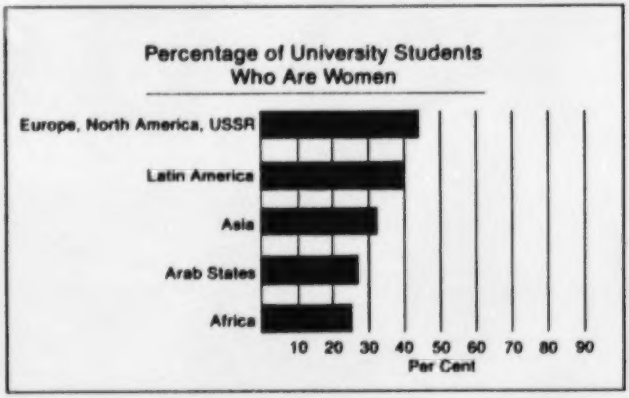
differentials are due both to limited educational facilities in general and to a very common preference for educating male children rather than female when a choice must be made. There are important differences in the value both families and societies place on girls' education. These differences account at least in part for the relatively high enrollment of girls in the Philippines and the very low levels in most Moslem countries. Within countries where facilities are limited and enrollment is not universal, as in South Asia and most African countries, girls from higher social classes have a much better chance of going to school than girls from poor families, and girls living in cities have a better chance of going to school than girls from villages.

Access to a school facility, however, does not ensure equal treatment or equal access to the content of a superior education. Important differences in boys' and girls' access to particular training programs and courses universally begin to appear at or about the secondary level in all countries. In general, fewer girls than boys are enrolled in math, science, and other technical courses; girls more often predominate in "soft courses," such as language arts and humanities. These secondary-level courses can be critical determinants of subsequent educational and employment opportunities. For instance, the underrepresentation of females in science and technology-related professions in the U.S. can be traced to their lower enrollment in math and science courses as early as junior high school.

University level. Over the past twenty years, in most countries the proportion of women among all college and graduate students has grown, and rapidly, but it must be remembered that in most cases they started from a very low base. Thus the absolute numbers are considerably more impressive than the proportions: in India there were 43,000 women in university in 1951, 656,000 in 1971. But, as a proportion of all university students, these women represented only 11 per cent in 1951, 22 per cent in 1971; a similar pattern is observed for Japan from 1950-1975.

In all countries, even those where parity in enrollment has been achieved, there are important differences in opportunity

for female and male students. Young women often receive separate and unequal higher education: they are more likely than men to be in less than four-year programs; they are enrolled in a limited number of departments. For example, in the U.S., females represent a healthy 44 per cent of B.A. and 40 per cent of M.A. degree recipients, but they are not evenly



distributed across fields: They account for 74 per cent of the B.A.s in education; 60 per cent of B.A.s in arts and humanities. Women are grossly underrepresented in engineering (2 per cent), in physics (6 per cent), and in agricultural sciences (11 per cent). At the doctoral level, the number of female degree recipients is generally much lower than the number of male recipients (25 per cent of Ph.D.s in the U.S. go to women). In this country, women are making dramatic gains in a few traditionally masculine professions such as law, business, medicine, and agriculture; in other countries, the gains are much smaller. What is striking is that in virtually all countries, women are concentrated in the same fields of study in higher education, though the precise proportions may differ.

Limited enrollment in school, limited promotion to higher levels, and tracking into sex-stereotyped courses and professional schools perpetuate and reflect occupational segregation. They virtually guarantee that most women will have lower earning capacity than most men.

Vocational training. Vocational training programs around the world are characterized by blatant differentials in enrollments, with predictable consequences for women's employment. Even in Sweden, women are taught skills traditionally associated with women, which are less marketable than those taught men. Males dominate overwhelmingly the technical training institutes even in countries such as the USSR and Eastern Europe, where the broad participation of women in labor markets is encouraged. In the U.S., 50 per cent of female vocational high school students are in non-employment-oriented homemaking, 30 per cent are in secretarial, clerical, and other traditionally female-oriented business courses. Only 8 per cent are in courses leading to fields traditionally dominated by men. Further, most government-supported, adult job-training programs prepare women for and place them in traditionally female fields. Patterns are similar in other Western countries.

In many Third-World countries, where the clerical professions are relatively prestigious and well paid, men dominate the clerical training courses. Virtually everywhere the technical high school students are 99 per cent male. Even in Tanzania, where the government is outspokenly committed to equality for males and females, the new secondary education policy emphasizing vocational skills mandates that girls' schools will concentrate on domestic science, with some crafts training; boys' schools will be oriented toward industrial/technological skills and agriculture. Other types of educational programs, especially those that are oriented to economic ends such as agricultural extension and credit training, are almost everywhere directed to men, not women, with serious consequences not only for the economic security of women but also for societal goals, such as food production. In Kenya and Tanzania, for example, where women provide 60 to 80 per cent of the labor required for food production and where the national government has recognized the importance of their production, the technical agricultural extension systems are almost entirely male; the staff work mainly with men, not women.

2. ***Educational materials, teachers' behavior, administrative practices, and research convey limited and otherwise distorted images of what women are and can be.***

Sex discrimination affecting students takes many forms, some more manifest than others. Large numbers of textbooks and instructional materials presently in use in schools throughout the world are clearly sex-stereotyped and biased. Educational aptitude and achievement tests have contained sexually biased materials and items. Few secondary schools provide girls with equal access to physical education and competitive sports programs. Instructional and counseling services provided for students generally support and reinforce traditional attitudes and behavior about appropriate roles for males and females.

Concern about sex stereotyping in educational materials has led to studies of images in textbooks in a good many countries (not only in the United States, but also in Mexico, India, Colombia, Bangladesh, and Brazil). To date, few attempts have yet been made, outside the United States, to revise materials or introduce new ones supporting a broader range of economic options for women (and non-economic options for men).

Academic research, which ultimately affects curriculum, has traditionally concentrated more on what men do than what women do. History indeed has tended to record only actions taken by men in the public realm, giving far less attention to women's actions and their accomplishments. It is only recently that female scholars have begun to record the many important contributions by women to the development of culture, social institutions, and nation-states. Female (and some male) researchers are beginning to illuminate severe male bias in such fundamental fields as psychology and economics. As yet such work is not fully integrated into the academic mainstream. In the U.S. and some European countries, courses about women and broader women's studies programs at university level are beginning to help legitimize research and writing about women and to reduce bias in basic disciplines. But around the world, only a handful of such programs exist, and their position in academia in most cases is tenuous.

3. ***Sex discrimination pervades the staffing of educational institutions.***

In most educational institutions, females are both learning and working in a world dominated by men and by male values. In coeducational institutions, males have generally held most of the leadership positions. Athletic achievements of boys and young men have been admired by the entire educational community. The more powerful and prestigious teaching and administrative positions are held by men.

Teaching is one of the occupations traditionally considered appropriate for women in many countries, but women's employment in the educational systems of most countries tends to be distributed unevenly over the occupational pyramid. The number of women declines sharply at the more advanced grade levels, and it drops even more in the administrative ranks. In the U.S. for example, women are 84 per cent of all elementary school teachers but only 19 per cent of elementary school principals and .1 per cent of school superintendents. In higher education, 25 per cent of all faculty members are women, but they are concentrated in the junior ranks. Less than 10 per cent of full professors are women. In the U.S., nineteen out of twenty first-year college students attend schools where the top two administrators are male. Only in female institutions are the administrators with high-level responsibility more likely to be women (and until recently, the presidents of most prestigious American women's colleges were men). In culturally restrictive environments (e.g., Bangladesh, Pakistan), even though women teachers are preferred for girl students, the small proportion of women teachers may be an important factor in the low enrollment of girls in school.

In many ways, then, educational institutions are teaching students a powerful lesson: women belong in supporting roles to men. Variations in these patterns do exist and offer encouragement for those seeking change. For example, in Southeast Asia generally, and particularly in the Philippines, a large proportion of secondary school teachers and of university faculty are female. Although these exceptions show what is possible, the general rule in most countries is dominance by males of prestige positions in education.

Cultural Forces and Obstacles to Women's Economic Participation

Cultural forces pose many obstacles to women's participation in the economy.

In addition to the constraints described above, substantial cultural barriers restrict women's earning and productive activities. Some are direct prohibitions such as restrictions codified in religious teaching. Others, almost as powerful, operate more directly through attitudes, tradition, and custom to restrict women's opportunities.

1. ***The legitimacy of women's work is denied.***

There is a cluster of attitudes that restrict and trivialize women's productive work. First, and astonishingly pervasive given the heterogeneity of cultures, is the belief that women should not engage in income-earning activities but should devote themselves to raising children and maintaining a "good home." Even in the U.S., where working women are now the norm, a 1975 Gallup survey found as many as three in ten adults disapproved of a married woman working if a husband could support her. Second, if a woman must work, her income is assumed to be only supplementary to that of a male breadwinner who is assumed to be present, but often is not. Similarly, social values dictate that work done to earn income should be compatible with the primary roles of mother and household manager both in scheduling and type of work. These and other similar cultural definitions of women's roles encourage relegation of women to unskilled, low-paying jobs, part-time work, and work in the informal economy.

2. ***Motherhood is glorified and used to justify limitations on women's rights and opportunities.***

Almost universally, the virtues of motherhood are both exaggerated and, paradoxically, underrated. The excessive value attached to women's role as bearers and nurturers of children not only denigrates women who cannot or do not wish to bear children. It also obscures the extent to which many

women can only be effective mothers if they are able to earn an income, and all women are more effective mothers if they have an education. Particularly damaging for an increasing number of women and their dependents is the economic dependence fostered by idealized notions of motherhood and family. In the West, since household work is not counted as productive labor, housewives do not accumulate social security and cannot claim unemployment protection or disability benefits when they lose their economic security through separation, widowhood, or divorce. Contrary to belief, existing policies and programs such as alimony and child support do not protect all women nor do they compensate for the economic consequences of losing one's spouse. Further, when women must seek formal employment, they find their skills in mothering, managing, and voluntary activities are not valued in the labor market.

In the Third World, where economic security, health, and other welfare services are usually provided only by the family or broader kin groups and not by government, women's situations can be especially precarious. Many women in these countries face a cruel dilemma: if they move beyond their accepted roles, they may incur disapproval and even rejection by family and society. Yet, if they accede to prevailing norms and remain without employment skills, dependent on their families, they also run a considerable risk of destitution due to desertion, divorce, or widowhood.

We deal here with two particularly troubling consequences of idealized concepts of motherhood: first, because motherhood is glorified and, in many societies, is the only or the most secure source of social and economic status for women, many women feel they have no choice except to have children, and they often bear more children than they should for their own and their children's health; second, idealized and polarized notions of sex roles—women as mothers/homemakers, men as producers/providers—contribute to equally simplistic concepts of "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics that handicap women.

Unwanted, ill-timed or unplanned pregnancy and motherhood occur. In all societies there is a belief shared by many men and

women, that child-bearing is central to a woman's fulfillment. However, though many women welcome motherhood whenever it occurs, others want not to be mothers at all, or only at certain times of their lives. They are denied that choice. Although women bear all the risks of modern contraception, in addition to the risks of abortion and childbirth, men control critical decisions regarding women's reproductive lives: male legislators determine the legality of abortion and the nature and scope of fertility-control services; men allocate resources for contraceptive development and safety testing; and men dominate institutions that form public opinion on these issues.

"One leopard is stronger than twelve jackals.
One son is better than twelve daughters."

Indian family planning program materials

The bases on which men make these decisions have little to do with women's actual needs or with a sympathetic view of women's multiple roles. Instead, they are based on men's idealized views about women's role in the family, on men's views about the proper size of the population of a particular country, and, though this may not be articulated, on men's own unwillingness to accept the risks of contraception.

As a result, women become pregnant and suffer hardship, especially poor and young unmarried women. Even in the U.S., where cultural taboos against contraception have largely disappeared and where many have access to fertility-related services, an estimated 2 million unintended pregnancies occur each year. In many other countries, the availability of family-planning services is much less adequate and substantial disincentives to their use exist. The 40 million induced abortions in the world each year, 20 million of them illegal, provide some indication of the number of unwanted pregnancies worldwide. Until the safety and acceptability of contraceptive technology are improved and until family-planning education and services are widely available and affordable, women will continue to resort to abortion and to have limited capacity to participate in education, training, and employment.

Polarization of male and female qualities limits women. The glorification of the qualities associated with motherhood—nurturance, gentleness, patience, dependence, asexuality—has been fundamental to our traditional division of labor between the sexes and a polarization of our thinking about the qualities of both females and males. Girls are trained to develop "feminine" and "mothering" qualities early on, and their sexuality is more controlled than that of boys.

"...men had to 'secure' the female—through marriage, pregnancy, subordination and (for women whose erotic appetite persisted) through surgical intervention in the form of excision of the clitoris and removal of the ovaries."

G. J. BASKER-BENFIELD, *on Victorian England*

"But the truth is that girls in Africa are circumcised to decrease their sexual urge before marriage, thereby preventing them being 'wayward' and bringing shame on the family..."

ESTHER OGUNMODEDE, *Nigeria*

"The brutal truth of the matter is that the young woman who has done nothing more threatening to the state than run away from home is likely to be treated as harshly as a young man who has held up a store."

Administrator, U.S. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

---

Such views of women constrain their full participation in education and employment—directly, because they may be "protected" from certain educational and job opportunities in order to safeguard their chastity, and indirectly, because educational and occupational success require a degree of assertiveness and competition.

The polarization of male and female qualities is also related to the double standard for sexual behavior that characterizes most societies. The more the wife/mother's chastity and sexual passivity are valued, the more likely it is that men will seek sexual relations before and after marriage with many women.

while the wife/mother is held to strict marital fidelity. The polarization of sex-related qualities is also, probably, an important factor in terrible phqsical violence by men against women.

"Asked why the rate of reported rapes in Little Rock, Arkansas has increased... the city board director had a quick answer: 'We've got prettier ladies, that's why.'"

1979

"And what if it is the woman who is unfaithful? 'In such a case,' a lawyer told me, 'the husband doesn't seek a divorce, he just kills his wife...'"

Pakistani journalist, 1979

Although unfairness and the suffering it causes are not immediately connected with the problems of women's work, which are our priority concern, they signal to women that in the culture of their societies they are not highly valued and that even their glorification as mothers ultimately works to their disadvantage. Such values and attitudes can only serve as a handicap when women seek a measure of economic participation or independence.

3. ***Little attention has been paid to strategies for coping with change.***

In spite of the universal glorification of motherhood, a considerable amount of change in the roles of women and men is occurring all over the world. Changing sex roles threaten time-honored values and bring profound redefinitions of the meaning of marriage, of motherhood and fatherhood, of illegitimacy, of family continuity, of virtue in women, of relationships between mothers and daughters and mothers and sons. For women perhaps especially, but certainly also for men, changes lead to painful conflicts and anguishing dilemmas. Family members are tugged forward by the economic, social, political, or legal advantages that come with equality; they are tugged backward by the uncertainties and risks that equality entails. As mentioned above, many women in devel-

oping countries may face particular difficulties. If they alienate their families, they may jeopardize their only source of economic, as well as emotional and social security.

"When I got back from the conference, I told my husband I was going to join women's lib and he said if I did he'd flip... 'We're in this mess together,' he's always saying."*

"Women shouldn't want to be dependent... we're fools if we do... stupid. But the fact is many of us, maybe most of us, like leaning on our husbands.... A lot of women are much better off married and at home than they would be at some low paying job."*

In order to support individuals and families and other institutions as they cope with changing sex roles, it is necessary to examine and understand the costs and the benefits of increasing equality between the sexes. Nonetheless, little support is given to institutions and individuals to develop and disseminate better knowledge of the reasons for women's increasing economic activity and of the adjustments such economic activity requires by both men and women. Universities generally play an important role in examining problems, understanding and explaining the emergence of new ideas, identifying the positive and negative effects of social change. Yet neither these institutions nor popular media, such as magazines, TV, radio, the arts, have given much serious attention to the implications of changing sex roles.

*U.S. housewives, quoted in *Pink Collar Workers: Inside the World of Women's Work*, by Louise Kapp Howe. New York: Putnam, 1977.

Part 2. Present and Projected Ford Foundation Activities

The Ford Foundation began to develop a serious interest in women's issues in 1972 with the appointment of a staff Task Force on Women. This task force was appointed when the Board of Trustees, during a wide-ranging review of all Foundation activities, signaled the need for attention to this subject. The task force recommended that all divisions and offices of the Foundation develop programs to alleviate sex discrimination appropriate to their major fields of work and commit funds from their annual budgets to those programs.

Since then such programs have emerged throughout the Foundation. Although they have been restricted to some extent by large budget reductions in the mid-1970s, there has been a steady growth in the size and effectiveness of our overall effort. Some of the activities of the 1970s have emphasized other themes than the economic position of women discussed in Part I of this report, but most of them bear directly or indirectly on that theme.

The Foundation's activities have encompassed employment, education, legal rights, public policy, economic development, population, and the arts.* Moreover, we are one of the few private foundations in the United States with the capacity to extend our work overseas. The only other foundations with significant international programs relating to women are the German Marshall Fund, which is concerned primarily with industrialized societies, and Carnegie Corporation under its Commonwealth Program.

*See *That 51%... Plus*, a report on Foundation programs for women through 1978. Available from the Foundation's Office of Reports.

In each of our principal areas of concern, we have developed short- and long-term strategies, and we have worked closely with other foundations. We have also worked in collaboration with government agencies, in some cases laying the groundwork or providing a model for subsequent government action.

Following is a review of the current activities and future interests of the women's program in the three major program divisions of the Foundation—National Affairs, Education and Public Policy, and the International Division.

National Affairs

Improvements in the economic security of women, particularly low-income and disadvantaged women, have been the main focus of National Affairs' women's program. Since 1972, grants totaling approximately $13 million have been made to increase women's ability to compete for employment opportunities. These grants have supported training for employment and leadership, services and policy development that support employment such as child care, and litigation and advocacy to improve women's status.

This work and its future direction are described more fully below.

Grants have supported model programs for moving *women on welfare* into supported-work arrangements and later into regular employment; programs for low-income teenage parents, and programs for welfare families to prevent the placement of children in foster care. Options for expansion in improving the lot of women on welfare include:

—work with other groups already welfare-dependent or at risk of dependence such as juvenile prostitutes, battered women, women offenders.

A series of small grants in the field of *fertility-related health services* (shared with the Population Office) have focused on the abortion debate and on abortion services, primarily because of the importance of abortion services to low-income women's economic security. A larger and more focused program could include attempts to:

—reduce the corrosive influence of the abortion debate in American society;
—increase access of poor women to abortion services;
—educate the public regarding the effects of abortion provision.

Grants in *law and women's rights* (with the Education and Public Policy Division) have been designed to develop legal doctrine establishing basic protections against sex discrimination; to challenge sex discrimination in critical, precedent-setting areas of employment and education; to encourage agencies charged with enforcement and regulation related to women to act vigorously on their behalf; and to encourage the development of non-litigative solutions to disputes involving sex discrimination. Increased funding will support:

—the addition of new issues to the litigators' agenda, such as enforcement of state equal rights amendments and the impact of new occupational safety and health standards on working women;
—strategy meetings for monitoring and litigating groups.

Grants to develop *leadership skills among working women* have included support for union leadership training geared to women; for organizing and training groups of clerical workers to monitor local enforcement agency handling of sex discrimination complaints; and creation of local coalitions to inform women and employers about compliance with laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment. With expanded funding, the program could include:

—work to benefit women in other female-intensive occupations;
—developing high-level public policy internships for emerging leaders in the field of women's employment;
—supporting and monitoring efforts of women to move into traditionally male occupations and the military.

In *child care*, the Foundation has pioneered in developing and bringing public support to child-care information and referral services. Under an expanded program, grants will be developed to:

—support model after-school programs;
—identify successful programs and policies for increasing men's roles in the care of their children.

The Foundation-wide Committee on Public Policy and Social Organization's studies of family policy and, to some extent, National Affairs' child-care program have been concerned with changing family roles and structures. Little attention has been given to strategies to lessen *destructive family conflict* and its inevitable effect on children. With increased funding, the women's program can include:

—experiments with the application of conflict-resolution techniques to family conflicts such as spouse battering, child custody, and visitation disputes that are now handled inadequately in the courts.

Given the importance of *the feminist voice* in the efforts to eliminate sex discrimination and adjust to changing roles, National Affairs has supported a small number of articles and films reflecting women's experiences or views. The grants, mostly small in size, have been made from a women's program fund which also supports program development, evaluations, and small grants for activities offering unique opportunities. The funds will be expanded and used to:

—familiarize the public with feminist theories and points of view through a larger and more focused effort;
—support feminist organizations and individuals in public education efforts;
—explore possibilities for integrating a concern with women's issues into other National Affairs program areas such as housing and criminal justice.

Education and Public Policy*

The elimination of discrimination based on sex in all phases of education has been a major program concern of the Education and Public Policy Division since 1972. Grants totaling more

*The Division of Education and Public Policy embraces the work of the former Division of Education and Research, offices concerned with the arts and resources and the environment, and a Foundation-wide committee on Public Policy and Social Organization.

than $13 million have been made in this area to date. They have included attention to discrimination in the content and procedures of education and in employment opportunities for women in the educational system. Although efforts have been concentrated in the United States, the division has also been active to a limited extent in Europe in collaboration with the International Division.

A significant proportion of the division's resources over the last eight years has been committed to two major problems: the *enforcement of key legislation* prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex by schools, colleges, and universities, and *inequality of access* for females to all forms of education and training. Grants have supported the development of an extensive network of women's rights advocacy organizations committed to monitoring public policies and agencies, technical assistance, affirmative action, and litigation. (A few of these have been shared with National Affairs.) Some of these organizations monitor local, state, and federal agencies as they attempt to enforce the law. Several work directly with schools and colleges as they work toward compliance, and, to round out the division's program, a few have the capacity to litigate when more conciliatory measures fail. In the next several years, there will be a need to broaden the range of this network, particularly to:

—increase local and state advocacy efforts to serve the continuing needs of schools, colleges, and universities as they move toward full compliance with Title IX;
—examine the possibility of settling disputes through various forms of conflict resolution such as mediation and arbitration.

In response to the *underrepresentation of women* in leadership and educational policy making positions, the Foundation has developed a series of administrative placement and training programs designed to give particular attention to the needs of women interested in administrative career advancement. More recently, some attention has been directed to the status of women in other professions as well. This interest stems from the need to relate education to subsequent careers, and a

recognition that education is a dominant factor in career development and the economic well-being of women. Areas ripe for expansion are:

—to explore and perhaps launch the equivalent of an Urban Fellows program for women interested in public life and public policy;
—to play a stronger role in supporting efforts to improve the status of women in other professions (the sciences and theology in particular);
—to explore further and develop techniques to encourage upward mobility, collective bargaining, and affirmative action techniques on behalf of women in education.

Support for *research on the development and significance of sex differences* and more broadly on the *role of women in society* has been another major component of the division's program. Grants have supported research on sex bias in curriculum content, testing materials, and instructor behavior and classroom practice. The women's studies fellowship program and the system of campus-based resource centers for research on women, which the Foundation established, have been concerned with a wide range of contemporary problems and have resulted in numerous publications. In conjunction with the International Division, the division has also supported efforts to learn more about how sexual identities are formed and maintained in many different cultural settings. In the next several years, new initiatives will include:

—involving the centers for research on women more closely in academic and public affairs and assisting in the establishment of similar institutes in other countries;
—extending women's studies to reach other constituencies, such as women resuming their education, and other nontraditional students here and abroad;
—learning from the European experience with such concepts as equal pay for comparable work.

Committee on Public Policy and Social Organization

The committee's role on women and family policy issues since 1974 has been to complement the divisions' work on these

matters. Its principal contribution to the Foundation's women's programs has been support that permitted establishment of the first major public policy research center on women. It is in Washington, D.C. The committee also has taken the lead in supporting research to strengthen knowledge of family function and stability, as affected by changing sex roles and by governmental policies, and has supported research on women in the military. Possible future interests include public policy research on the broad social consequences of greater opportunities for women, particularly in family life.

Arts

Grants intended to eliminate sex discrimination in the arts focus on the fact that women have not been encouraged to enter most of the fields that lead to careers as film and opera directors, orchestra conductors, and other positions of artistic leadership. The Foundation has made grants both to organizations whose primary objectives are to develop and promote women artists and to reputable artistic organizations that have developed special programs for women artists. There are many avenues for further work:

—continue with current program emphases;
—increase and strengthen women's participation in all the arts;
—establish a strong network of women artists in various fields, perhaps through the support of conferences, symposia, and festivals.

Resources and the Environment

The main emphasis pursued in this area is the program's affirmative action effort related to the grants made, but an expanded program could also include:

—taking responsibility for seeing that the female half of the population is adequately involved;
—creating opportunities for women to learn about these areas of national concern;
—exploring special internship or fellowship opportunities for women.

International Division

The International Division's women's program objectives have been to help overcome inequity and, in the process, to help ensure that women can both contribute to achieving a variety of development goals and also share more fully in the resulting benefits. Since 1972, the division has made grants in this area totaling approximately $6 million. This work has involved basic research on changing sex roles and dissemination of this work; training for women to assume leadership positions in research institutions and public life and to work on behalf of women; and programs working directly with low-income women to enhance their well-being and productive capacity. Projected program interests are described below.

To *improve women's productive capacity and opportunities for employment*, staff is increasingly seeking to ensure that programs that deal with production and employment issues pay explicit attention to women's participation. We shall:

—both integrate a concern about women into broader program efforts and make grants directly aimed at women's problems;
—provide grants for projects and leadership development focused on women's work;
—encourage more sophisticated analytic research to identify particular factors in particular settings that affect women's employment and productive capacity;
—support projects that enhance the productive capacity of low-income women through skill training and through cooperative production and marketing;
—explore assistance for ways (day care, household technology) to help relieve low-income women of the dual burden of employment and heavy child-rearing and household-management responsibilities;
—support feminist leaders and organizations, including unions, that advocate expanded economic opportunities, especially for low-income women, and also seek to guard against economic exploitation of women.

A central problem for girls and women is access to the kinds of education that create competence to operate and compete

at all levels of the occupational system. *Reducing sex differences in education* is a key step in bringing them into more productive roles in (paid or unpaid) work, in enhancing the health and education of their families, and more generally, in increasing their constructive participation in family and community life. Preliminary research commissioned by the Foundation indicates the need for attention to:

—the consequences of different amounts and kinds of education for subsequent employment, including the question of the tracking of female students;
—economic and cultural factors in parents' decisions about girls' education;

—the effects, in different cultural settings, of single-sex educational institutions;
—access of adult women to "non-formal" adult education programs;
—evaluations of policies and laws on affirmative action.

Understanding and reducing cultural constraints on women's social and economic participation is a *sine qua non* of progress in all countries. We have given some attention to the strains imposed by economic and social change on basic institutions and values, but much remains to be done on the cultural constraints on women's opportunities for full economic participation. We shall:

—continue to support cross-cultural research on the biological, cultural, and social determinants of sex roles by Western scholars, and link such work with that of researchers in Third-World countries;
—explore the role of women's studies in raising consciousness about women's rights and women's potential in Third-World countries;
—support bibliographic reviews of traditional and changing sex roles, for both women and men;
—publicize burdensome or inhumane elements of culture that obstruct women's opportunities (and may even endanger their lives);
—introduce more feminist perspectives into work on health, nutrition, and fertility issues.